

A D V I C E
TO THE
S P E A K E R Elect,

O R, A
L E T T E R

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

John Ponsonby, Esq;

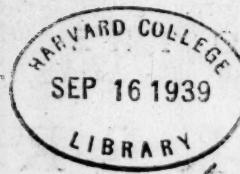
Ut tu fortunam, Sic nos, te, Gelse, feremus.
HOR.

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A D V I C E
TO THE
S P E A K E R Elect,
OR, A
L E T T E R, &c.

S I R,


OU have at last topp'd the
Summit, to which you were
climbing; I congratulate you
upon it. I sincerely wish
you Joy. May your Rest
there be secure, easy and honourable: To
the Honour and Interest of your Sovereign,
to the Kingdom's Good and Safety.

Having for some Time attended and
gone along with you, or rather, Pioneer-

A 2 like,

like, been levelling and clearing the Way before you, to facilitate, and to expedite your March : I have a Kind of equitable Claim to offer you Advice ; if it is Salutary and Good, follow it ; if it is not, throw it away. It will consist only of four Articles, and those of no more Words than may serve to express my Meaning clearly.

1. If I could imagine that you had a Thought of going on in the old Track, governing by Faction, garbling a House of Commons to your own Liking, and trampling upon the Common Rights and Privileges of your Country, to make Way for your own Pimps, Favourites and Sycophants, elevated as you are above me, I should think you unworthy of my past Care or of my future Concern.

You will find, it is like, too many to urge you to it ; so many have suffered by the Tyranny practised in this Way, that the very Desire of being revenged may dictate this Counsel. Let not however the Passions of others, raise Passions in you, that are neither native nor becoming. The Privilege of sitting in Parliament is too valuable to be sported with, for the Gratification of any Passion. Let us for once see a Man, who has Virtue enough to make Truth and Right the Measures

Measures of his Conduct ; who dares to tread the unbeatn Path, who has Courage to avow, and Constancy to persevere in it.

If a Man is fairly elected by his Country, whatever his Name, Character, Connexions or Attachments may be, however you may be disposed to like or to prefer his Competitor, let no Motive ever persuade you, to exert your Influence against him.

Your Prede—for by that Means strengthned himself for a Time ; in the End it was his Undoing ; and contributed not a little to your Elevation : His Conduct in this Respect, was the true Source of all the Faction, which hath divided and disturbed the Nation ; a just Contrast will quickly put an End to it, and restore us to Peace and good Agreement : if not, we shall go on tearing and devouring one another ; your Power will be precarious, your Life distracted and uneasy, your Honour, none at all.

It will not be enough to make this a general Rule, it must be without Exception adhered to universally, and in political Account I apprehend it will be a safe one : If it is once observed and known, that you are resolved to follow it, and do follow it, every Man will confide in you, and

and every Man will be your Friend ; one Deviation will raise Suspicion and Distrust, and of Course Enmity and Opposition.

The next Article respects your Friends, who have endured Hardship and Reproach upon your Account, how to recompence them, how to requite their Friendship : Do it with Zeal, do it with Celerity, in every Way that is consistent with Decency ; their Merit is very great, beware of Ingratitude.

What has been done (and indeed much hath been done) to silence, soften and satisfy the Enemies of the last Administration, perhaps was necessary ; perhaps if I saw farther, I might discover Traces of Wisdom in it ; perhaps if the whole Plan was before me, I might approve of it. It may be ; but it is hard upon those who acted so nobly ! manfully ! resolutely ! who too, have persevered so long, under so great Discouragement, without ever flinching or falling off, that they are oblig'd now to trust to REVERSIONS.

In the Way here pointed out, your Prede—for had some Merit, which for a Course of Years gave him great Advantages, and helped to bear him up longer than otherwise he could have stood against those who wrought his Downfal

at

at last, (for fallen he is though raised in 'State, and his Fall was inevitable though it came by Composition) but he was shamefully deficient before he closed the Scene, in regard to ONE MAN, who had a better Right to be considered than any of the P A C K.

However they stood at the Close of the last Administration without H I M, they could have been in no Condition to have stood upon Terms with the present ; he both kindled the Fire, and kept it burning, which saved all them from perishing. Devoured we all thought, he would himself be in the Flames, but he did not so much as scorch his Fingers : No Thanks to them. For he was left, basely, dishonourably left to shift for himself ! The Excuse made could not be sincere, because without them, he has found the Way to what he wanted : By their Perfidy, you have now got him, and with all his Faults he is worth having, if you can but *keep him*. When Men get Wisdom by Experience, it generally sticks by them, whence it is probable you may keep him, if you are not wanting to yourself.

You, Sir, have the Advantage of setting out with many Friends, but if you hope to keep them, you must be sedulous and

and active to serve them. If you are, others will flow in. They will multiply as fast as you either wish, or have Occasion for them.

That there has been some grumbling and repining you know; so do I. Prevent it for the Future. The Complaint was, that by Opposition and Scandal, was the shortest and surest Way to some Peoples Friendship. What Truth there was in the Complaint, what Instances there were of this Sort, I know not, but some Ground there was, which we all saw, to believe there was Reason for it. Had the same Care been taken to caress and reward Friends, that was used to win, to reconcile and oblige Enemies, what the last Administration began, had not I conceive, been left to the present to finish. Was the Plan of the last and the present the same? exactly! palpably! what the one would have ended in, the other has ended in; only the Circumstances being different, the Means varied; (Whether by Necessity is another Question.) However this be, let past Mistakes have their Effect to make you Wiser, reconcile Enemies when you can with Safety and Convenience, but serve your Friends first; and when you have need of them you will not want them. No Character can be

be much or long respected, to which a Defect in this Particular can be truly objected: Whoever was in Fault, you had your Share of the Abuse, give no Occasion again. Happy it is, that Virtue is its own Reward: How happy for some Men that their Conscience bears Witness to them that they acted right: It is all they have got, or now perhaps are like to get. That they were right, the Issue has proved, the Measures of Government, the Proceedings of Parliament have all proved it. A more regular Account may some Time or other set these Matters in a fuller and stronger Light. I content myself with observing here, that every Plea in the other's Vindication has been silently passed over, or contradicted. Bargains were made, and Bargains were kept. The Words *Country* and *Liberty!* we hear of them no more. Has any Thing been done to extend the one, or to save the other? The Mouths are stop'd, the Things are safe; when that was done, the Danger was over. Where is PREVIOUS CONSENT? Established in PENSIONS: Where is LIBERTY? Consumed in the Bonefires it rais'd: If a Remnant is sav'd, it is tagg'd to its Patron's Heels, and you may hap' to see it e're long publishing Proclamations

B against

against Libels, &c. Where is the whole they contended for? Where it was, and only did subsist, in *Mat. Wil-ford's* Shop; where let it lie.

The Third leads you to consider, which of the different Parties in the State, you are principally to confide in, as the surest Foundations for Stable and permanent Power.

It is odd, but it is true, that the Established Church hath a dangerous Rival. A Rival, that by tender and indulgent Nursing, is grown into too much Consideration. If some People go on cultivating the Opinion, which *Presbyterians* have of their own Importance, they may in any future Scene of Confusion, become really formidable, as it is, they will probably be often drawing upon you for more Respect and Observance than is due to them.

If our late Disturbances have not given them more Strength, they have undoubtedly given them more Pride, and Insolence; happily for them, more happily for some Leaders of one Party, their Ringleader is in the Dust. The Farce that has been acted would have been more difficult, the Actors from the highest to the lowest would have been much embarrassed, had he lived to take his Share in it.

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They have Merit, Sir, but they have shewn too much Inclination to cancel it: Without intending them any Hurt, whatever their real Stock was, they have not increas'd it. I speak in general, without designing it should be forgot, that there were some sober and prudent Men among them, who would had they been able, have corrected the Fury and Violence of their Brethren.

They deserve Regard: So I would have you think, but they are by no Means so respectable as they would have you believe: The established Clergy, though it is so much the Fashion, both to speak of them, and to treat them slightingly, may whenever they are disposed to unite and exert themselves, not only convince the others of their comparative Insignificance, but likewise any single Man, or Order of Men in the Land, of their real Importance.

They have had a justifiable Call to do it, from the two general Dispositions, not only of the Sectarians, but of many in their own Congregations, to disturb the Enjoyment of their legal Rights, to abate and bring down their Value, by Methods neither just nor decent. Their Case calls for Relief, though it seems to get no Attention. The Hardships they labour under,

der, point out to you, Sir, a Mean to raise, to aggrandize yourself, to fix and to improve your Power.

Upon this Rock if you will build, you may build securely ; all others are sandy and infirm, and will not bear the Blasts and Blights of Wind and Lightning : If you rest upon them, they will abide by you, and bear you up from falling : They can do it, and they will do it, if you cast your Care upon them.

I do not call upon you for any Thing that may justly alienate the Affections of *Presbyterians*, to dispose them to consider, or to treat you as an Enemy : My Demand is only to check every fond aspiring Hope, that they may conceive of being ever preferred, when a Competition arises. If they are peaceable and obedient, encourage and caress them. So far I consent and advise, but never do any thing that may put them in a Condition to cope with us : If at any time they be a Match for us, they will be too strong for you. Exasperate them not by any harsh unnecessary Restraint, encourage them not by any either real or delusory Hope, to look for what they have no Right to expect. They have been play'd off alternately by both Parties this Session, how far either mean'd to serve

serve them, I do not mean to inform them. I only caution *You* that Political Tricks may serve a present Turn ; a lasting useful Authority must be gained another Way, *by Candour and fair Dealing*. Upon the whole, your own Grandeur, and the States Continuance, may both depend upon the Success of this Advice.

Thus far, Sir, I had proceeded in my Letter, when the *Advertiser* came in, with the glorious Acts of the Patriot Club at *Belfast* ; a seasonable Hit to convince you, that I reason aright : From this Sample, judge, Sir, of the Men, and of the Purpose they mean to serve by this strange proceeding. Put the Measures of the last Administration out of Question, what hath the present done to hurt or disoblige them ? For my Part I can assign but two possible Causes of this surprising Phænomenon : One, that the Instigators are either so ambitious, or so avaricious, or both, that 'till they are quite gorged and glutted, they are determined not to be quiet, and as they were for forceing the last Administration into all their Measures, so they would the present : The Weapons of their Warfare you see what they are, and how they mean to use them. A Second ; that these same Tools and Instruments, knowing that

the

the End they aim at, is never to be attained, but by general Confusion, are determined at every Call or Sound of the Trumpet to rise into Sedition.

Until our late Divisions raised them to Consideration, they were grown contemptible even in their own Eyes: Seemingly they had lost all Hopes of ever emerging. The Occasion however was accommodated to their Views, and they resolved to push it. Now or never, they think and *they are told*. The Situation of Affairs both abroad and at home, is so inviting, they cannot let it slip. Do you think I wrong them? Read it again, and you will be convinced I do not. It is the plain English, the obvious Sense of what is before you: it would be worth while to examine how this came about: Was it the Product of their own Brain? Or was it concerted here? Sent down first, and then returned: Who the Contriver? One, who has got more than he deserved: Who the Instrument of its Conveyance? One, who has all the qualifying Ingredients in his Composition, which distinguished the Man, whose Memory is on the List, and though so ill shod with a Brogue on one Foot, and an old Slipper on the other, would through thick and thin wade forward in the godly Work.

Work of Reformation. In this Case what is to be done? Were I as free to advise others, as I am you, I perhaps could tell: Whether or no, I may ask, what are we about? Whither are we going? What will these Things end in? I wish some Prophet would resolve us: For my Part, with the Bill that is gone, and that which I hear is to follow, if both pass into Laws, I see nothing before me but everlasting Strife and endless Confusion; on one Hand, what Multitudes in *Malitia Gnavos*; on the other how few, in *Bono Constantes*.

In fine, the wisest Heads you see may over-teckon; we all thought we had got into the last ACTs; and that after a short Farce, we should be quietly dismissed, and the principal Actor go off with a general Plaudit: But to our Amazement a new Scene opens, and with a little Variation of the Parts and Characters the whole is to be acted again.

THE LAST, SIR, WILL INCLUDE TWO ARTICLES, RESERVE IN YOUR PROMISES, AND SECRECY IN YOUR COUNCILS.

Though we all speak one Language, every Profession and different Class, have it seems, a Dialect of their own, that is never thoroughly understood by the rest: The Reason may be, that in every Trade

there is a *Mystery*, which none but the initiated know.

I am not much versed in Court Language, but I have Reason to imagine that THERE also is to be found one, that is not perfectly understood any where else.

By this Hint you may suspect that I am for innovating and changing Customs and Manners : In such Degree as may be necessary to preserve Reputation, by which Power ever subsists, and is only extended, I own it. Let no Man deceive you with vain Words, is good Advice. Deceive no Man with vain Words, is as good : If there is Wisdom in one, there is moral Honesty in the other. One will possibly never be as reputable in Courts as the other, there are nevertheless Places where it is always reputable, and as long as there are any, must never be laid quite aside.

If I were to write a Volume, I should never be able to say more, nor to put half so much Sense in it, as you will find upon this Subject in an Essay of Lord *Bacon's* upon Simulation and Dissimulation, to which I refer you ; if you have read it before, you will do well to read it again.

Contrive as you will, there is so much more than Promises due ; That you will have

have your Hands full ; many will be extorted ; When they are, let them be explicit, liable to as little Ambiguity, as plain Words, and an honest Meaning can make them, and let them be punctually performed.

I am far from thinking, that Cunning and Deceit are essential in a Statesman as far as Reading, Observation or Memory have carried me, the ablest, and best have been least tainted with these Qualities.

When you mean to serve any Man, do it if you can, so as to prevent Sollicitation : This will inhance both the Favour and the Obligation. If this is your Way, and is once known to be your Way, you will be less teased and importuned : This will put Men upon weighing their Merits as well as considering their Wants, and in some more accurate Ballance, than their own Conceits : But if they perceive that their Deserts are to give Way to every Request of a more respectable Petitioner, respectable only for being in a higher Station. In short, if Services already done, are to be overlooked for Services that may be done ; if ever you have Occasion to call together your Friends, to summons them

C to

to your Assistance, to lead them into the Field, you may have many upon the ROLL who will not answer to their NAMES.

What your Sentiments of the present System are, I know not ; if it is the same with some of your Friends, you and they both are too sanguine : If no more is done, allow me to speak freely, it may easily be undone. Do you think you have got so far, that you can stand alone ? You neither think it I presume, nor mean to try it : How then are you to advance ? by looking back and considering by what Ways and by what Hands you were led forward, you will be able to judge. If the Foundation had not been laid some Time ago, the Superstructure even so far as it has gone, could not have been raised now. The Spring is promising, the Blossoms are budding and shooting thick about you, ~~STILL~~ a Frost may come to nip and blast them all. One Party has at last broke, and by their Division you have got Strength. But what Certainty have you, that the other may not do the same, and out of the two a stronger than either shall not be formed ? If that should happen, the Power that brought you in may not be able to support you. We have been taught to play

a Game that many will be too apt to practice, and possibly find a Way to play back upon those who taught it to us. Are our Animosities ended, our Divisions healed? Would to God they were; but I fear they are not. Whilst there are so many Symptoms of ill Humour on one Side, I see no Reason for much Joy on the other; it is reasonable to compute, that Men will indulge that ill Humour in themselves, which has turned to so good Account to others.

Your Prudence in all these Respects will be perfected by SECRECY in your Councils: The Observation is trite, the common Reasons which inforce it, are to be found in Millions of Books. What many know some will ever divulge; and the Success of every Scheme depends upon its being a Secret; besides it is indisputably true, *that many Heads obstruct Intrigues.*

There was nothing in the Conduct of the last Administration which subjected them to more Inconvenience than a Defect in this Instance: Do not suspect that I mean to censure them; I always was, I am still warm in their Vindication; I mean only to frame an Apology for their Mistakes: Some were incurred, (unavoidable

I believe) in the Circumstances they were, the Men who fought with them put them often under as great Difficulties, as they, whom they fought against. If they were not consulted they would not co-operate, and many would divulge the little they did know, in hope of being thought to know more than they did ; so to raise an Opinion of their own Importance, or merely perhaps in Resentment, for not being instructed with the whole, or as much as they thought themselves intituled to know.

This however was equally the Fate of both Parties : Every ACCESSARY who contributed, though in ever so low a Degree to the Support of either, thought himself a PRINCIPAL. They would be humoured, and indeed were humoured too often and too much, though neither so often, nor so much as many of them, blinded by their own Vanity fancied : Hence it was, that there was no such Thing as a Secret between them. Whatever was concerted in private, often before the Consultation was ended, was published abroad, declared on the House Top : Every Body was inquisitive, no body retentive.

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In the Place of greatest Resort I had frequent Occasion of observing it : I always observed it with Astonishment ; Men calling their Friends aside, Men of Distinction and Figure, to tell them *Secrets*. Whispering not so low, but that they might be overheard, and sometimes called back to hear another **SECRET**. The Sieveness of Women has been often remarked, the Sieveness of Men too seldom. The latter I suspect is the leakier Vessel of the two. This Error is at the highest, when it divulges an Intention of doing, what for intervening Reasons is often protracted, or not executed at all : For when this happens, there is a double Weakness imputed ; and that Imputation lessens Authority, and give Strength to the Opposition ; *In one fatal Instance* this was remarkably true ; the Notoriety too great.

It is happy for you, Sir, that you have had the Opportunity of Learning this most useful Lesson, under so great a **MASTER**, which undoubtedly will give it more Force and Impression, than any Thing your common Friends can say.

The last Event which has so altered the System of Affairs, so unaccountably changed

such as to give him such an opportunity of doing it

the Opinions and Tempers of Men, and proved both how ignoble, and how uncertain a Pursuit popular Applause is, was it is true predicted by one Man, some Time before it came out: If he was only a good Gueſſer, and I presume he was no more, there were many as good Conjurers as he. I presume this, because had the real Secret gone through so many Hands as were necessary to convey it to HIM, it had probably been divulged, and the Event marr'd; fortunately if he did know it, they whom it behoved most to suspect it, were so besotted, as not to suspect it, and so it succeeded without Opposition.

I will suppose you then, Sir, so obſer-
vant, as to profit in the Degree, I would have you, by the excellent Example before your Eyes; and let me freely add, that if you are not very careless and unobſer-
vant, many other good Things you may have learned from him.

Some who have reaped, or are like to reap no personal advantage from this Scheme, will be apt to dislike some Parts of it; Where an Event does not square to our Wishes, and come up exactly to them, we generally do so. Perhaps I am one of those, who yet think that what is DONE, might

might have BEEN DONE with equal Advantage, equal Certainty and greater Credit in another Way. Perhaps I do not see enough of the Scheme to judge of it truly; when the Bottom is wound up, possibly I may change my Sentiments; but however this be, in many Respects I readily assent, and subscribe to his Merit and go along in his Praise. That in DELIBERATION, he hath shewn much Wisdom; in EXECUTION, very laudable STEADINESS; in every progressive Step that led to it, MODERATION, and a Temper that cannot be too much commended, GENEROSITY to many, HUMANITY to all, and a pleasing, most engaging DECORUM in every Office of Duty, Religion, and good Breeding. It hath regulated even his Entertainments and Diversions, in a Manner rarely exemplified, in that high Station, in a Manner too, that may give us to hope, that it springs from something better at bottom, than a Regard to mere external Decency.

I mention these Things only to set them out to your Imitation, to induce you, Sir, to transcribe and copy them in your own Practice. If you do, you will be renowned, respected, beloved. From Respect

spect and Gratitude to him, that he may never blush, or repent of being the Mean of your Elevation, you have one urgent Call ; from Self-Interest and Regard you have another ; from Duty to your Sovereign, and your Country, you have a third still stronger.

I have, Sir, many more Things in my Breast, which I might have said, neither idly, nor unprofitably, but I confess to you that in many Points, my Judgment still vibrates, or rather is in Suspense. If a fit Season present, I may write to you again, if I do, it will be with the same Candour and Freedom. Till it comes, I have the Honour to be,

S I R,

Your most affectionate Well-wisher,
and most Obedient Servant.

March 18th,
1756.

F I N I S.